1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 12 North China
~~AF 12~~ AF12

PREFACE

121 This is one of five monographs prepared by the staff of the China Project at Stanford University in fulfillment of a twelve-month subcontract with the Human Relations Area Files, Incorporated, New Haven, Connecticut.

The main purpose of this monograph is to present insofar as possible a concise account of the social, economic, and political conditions and problems of the North China Region, which is comprised of the provinces of Hopei and Shansi. Although primary emphasis is placed on developments since the Chinese Communists assumed the reins of government in the latter part of 1949, whenever necessary the region's past is touched upon.

121 114 It may be helpful to point out to readers unfamiliar with the Chinese source material used for the preparation of this monograph that, generally official publications published before 1949 in Nanking or Chungking were of Nationalist origin, whereas those dated from 1949, unless their place of publication is Taipei, Hong Kong, or some other non-Communist area, are Communist sources. Moreover, two sources, the Survey of China Mainland Press and Current Background, although prepared by the American Consulate General in Hong Kong,

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 12 North China
~~AF 12~~ AF12

121 are compilations of translations from Chinese
114 Communist publications; unless the citations contained therein are specifically attributed to American editors, they refer to translations from Communist newspapers and magazines and neither represent nor reflect the views of the United States Government. The critical use of Communist and pro-Communist sources has been the principal means of analyzing developments in Soviet Russia. Scholars of China are now obliged by circumstances to employ similar sources in their study of contemporary China.

121 The regional approach embodied in this monograph represents an attempt to conform with the suggestion of our Prime Contractor. Although certain topics which cannot be properly treated on a regional basis have been discussed in more general terms, the bulk of this monograp is comprised of regional information. Since Communist China is undergoing many rapid chang the studies contained in this monograph should be brought up to date at frequent intervals.

This monograph is to be regarded as a cooperative project, and no attempt will be made to identify the authors of the individual studies included. It is enough to mention the members of our staff.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 12 North China
~~AF 12~~ AF12

121 Sociological -- Shau Wing Chan, Lienche T. Fang, Susan Han, Kai-yü Hsü, John E. Manning, Arthur F. Wright

Economic -- Hsien-chang Ling, Yüeh-ch'iung Pu Tung, Yüan-li Wu

Political -- Carsun Chang, Yü-nan Chang, Franklin W. Houn, Robert C. North, Mary C. Wright

000 We are also grateful to our consultants who have rendered us invaluable assistance: Professor T'ung-ho Tung of the Academia Sinica, Dr. Kiangau Chang, Loyola University of Los Angeles, Dr. Shun-hsin Chow, now of the College of William and Mary, Dr. Ch'i-yün Chang and Dr. Yün-t'ien Chiang of Formosa, and Dr. Shann Yau Wang of Hong Kong. We are also grateful to Professor Joseph E. Williams, executive head of the Department of Geography, Stanford University, for his supervision of our cartographic work. We should like to express our sincere appreciation to the staff of the Hoover Library, Stanford University, for their patient co-operation, and particularly to Dr. Mary C. Wright, curator of Chinese Collections, for her unfailing support.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

Preface

ON THE BROAD coastal plain of North China there are thousands of villages, towns, and walled cities, the centers of life for the rural agricultural population. This study deals with the organization and activities of a group of 454 of these centers, a sample hsien in that area. A hsien is the Chinese political unit that corresponds most nearly to the American county. Our material, collected from 1926 to 1933, gives a picture of how, during those years, the residents of one political unit lived, worked, organized their political life, studied, played, and worshiped. Japanese invasion, civil war, and a revolutionary Communist government have brought many changes to the area. Our study, made almost at the end of the pre-World War II era, gives a base line from which to measure the many changes brought by the new day.

When Chang Tso-lin moved his troops into the Peking area in 1925 he effectively prevented our making any move to initiate a proposed study of the social, political, and economic life in the villages outside of Peking. The postponement turned out to be a very fortunate one, for a year later we were able to join forces with the Chinese National Association of the Mass Education Movement when it started its Ting Hsien experiment.

The origin of the Ting Hsien experiment goes back to World War I, when a Thousand Character System (Ch'ien Tzu K'e) was developed whereby Chinese laborers in France were taught, in two months' time, studying two hours a day, enough characters so that they could read simple newspapers giving news of the war and could write letters home to China. After the war, experiments were conducted in China to adapt the system to Chinese conditions. Literacy campaigns were carried on in several cities. The basic vocabulary was developed by determining the frequency of word use in one and one half million characters used in current written material. To test the system in a rural area and adapt it for use in the villages a group of Chinese scholars moved to Ting

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

121 Hsien in the fall of 1926 to begin what turned out to be ten years of study, experiment, testing, and growth.

At the invitation of the village elders of Chai Ch'eng, a village in the eastern part of Ting Hsien, Association headquarters were first established there. Work was carried on in a group of 62 villages which we have called the "Experimental District". Later on, at the request of the hsien leaders, the Association moved its headquarters to the county seat, and expanded its program to cover the entire hsien. In the city the Association work and staff were housed in the buildings of the old examination hall.

Social research was added to the basic educational program when the Movement first went to Ting Hsien. Agricultural, economic, political, social, and health programs were gradually added as the needs were shown and opportunities for experiment became available.

Ten years of life and work in Ting Hsien gave the members of the Movement thorough grounding and experience in rural work before they had to evacuate ahead of the Japanese in 1937. By that time the educational program had attracted country-wide interest, the Thousand Character System was in use throughout the country, and the national Ministry of Education had a department of Mass Education. During the war days in China, 1937–1945, it is estimated that more than 45,000,000 Chinese were taught to read by the Mass Education Movement's system.

The local influence of the Movement in Ting Hsien is well illustrated by an action of one of its village Alumni Associations. Hearing that illegal gambling was going on in one of the houses in the village, members of the Association raided the house. The village head and the vice-head were found among the players. After lecturing the men on their crime and their duty to set an example for the village, the Alumni Association group decided that, rather than take the culprits to the hsien city and there lay a charge against them in the magistrate's court, which would mean a considerable loss of time and money for all concerned, they would use their standing as a community organization and levy an extra-legal fine of $3.00 on the culprits and use the money for the Association's program. The next morning the money for the fine was sent to the Association, together with a contribution of $2.00. This type of community spirit developed by the Movement brought about

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

especially strong resistance when the Japanese invaded Ting Hsien in 1937.

We fully realize that much of our material has been secured from people who do not usually think in mathematical and statistical terms, to many of whom "several tens" is a reasonable approximation, and who are generally suspicious of anyone asking detailed and intimate questions. At the same time the very happy relationships between the staff of the Mass Education Movement and the Ting Hsien people made it possible for us to overcome much of this suspicion and to secure the best possible approximation to complete and accurate figures. Comparison of the figures secured from a variety of sources has shown an agreement which indicates that they give a reasonably true picture of the local conditions.

There was fighting, requisitioning of supplies, and looting in the Ting Hsien area in 1928 when the Nationalist forces came in from the south to capture Peking and unify the country. Troop movements through Ting Hsien in 1931 made it necessary hurriedly to pile our records in a small room and brick up the door. Fortunately the actual fighting was to the north and the disturbance was quickly over. Our records were not touched. Aside from those two short periods, the time of our study was relatively quiet and stable. The worldwide depression of the early 1930s affected prices and the economic life of Ting Hsien, but most of our field work had been finished by that time. As our study was made during a time when life in Ting Hsien, in spite of the two periods of military activity, was relatively normal and as the study was made under unusually favorable auspices, we feel that our findings can be taken as reasonably typical of life in Ting Hsien and as a good sample of rural life in North China.

Some questions must remain unanswered because the material was not available to us, others because the author of this report was not able to spend as much time in the field as had originally been planned and because the necessary delay in tabulating and analyzing the material, plus the political developments in North China, made it impossible to go back to the original records, to rearrange tables, and to get answers to questions that could not be cleared by correspondence.

All dollar figures are Chinese silver dollars. Cents are Chinese dollar decimals unless otherwise noted. From 1926 through 1933 the value of

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

121 the Chinese dollar varied from U.S. $0.49 to U.S. $0.197, the exchange rate from 2.04 to 5.10.[1]

The Chinese characters for place names, names of gods and emperors, and Chinese terms have not been given as they are not sufficiently pertinent to our report to warrant the additional printing costs.

When we began our study in 1926 the Chinese name for China's capital was Pei Ching, North Capital. Its English name was Peking. In 1928 the Nationalist Government moved the capital to Nanking and changed Pei Ching to Pei P'ing, North Peace. When the Communist forces captured Pei P'ing in 1949 they made it their capital and changed the name back to Pei Ching. Whenever we have referred to the city we have called it Peking.

The Chinese language report of our survey has been published in three volumes. The first, the general survey (*Ting Hsien She Hui Kai K'uang Tiao Ch'a,* by Franklin Ching-han Lee) and the second, a collection of the dialogues of the local yang ke, or planting songs (*Ting Hsien Yang Ke,* by Franklin Ching-han Lee and Shih-wen Chang) appeared in 1933. The third, the report of our study of village industry (*Ting Hsien Nung Ts'un Kung Yeh Tiao Ch'a,* by Shih-wen Chang) was issued in 1936. A considerable amount of new statistical material, which was not available when the Chinese reports were written, is given here for the first time.

In our report we have included material that we hope will be helpful and suggestive to those who are experts in the various fields we have tried to cover. In presenting our statistical studies we have attempted to satisfy two groups. For the general reader we have pointed out and discussed, in the text, the outstanding figures of the different studies. For the specialist we have given the figures in complete tabular form. All photographs in the volume were taken by the author.

000 Grateful acknowledgment is made to the *American Journal of Sociology* and to the *Far Eastern Quarterly* for permission to use material on foot-binding, savings societies, and farm families that has appeared earlier in their pages, and to Dr. J. L. Buck for permission to quote from his studies of North China agricultural families. I am indebted to Mrs. L. Carrington Goodrich for making available to me material on the Chinese gods; to Dr. Goodrich for his counsel and ad-

1. National Tariff Commission, *The Shanghai Market Prices Report,* Shanghai, Oct.–Dec. 1933.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER III

Four Hundred Farm Families

FOUR HUNDRED farm families living in the 62 villages of the Experimental District were studied in 1927 in order to secure figures that would give a picture of their economic life and activities. Two hundred and two families, 50.5 per cent, lived in Chai Ch'eng, the village where the Mass Education Movement had its headquarters. The other villages had from one to seven families in the study. The 202 Chai Ch'eng families were 55 per cent of the families living in that village.

The 400 families were a 4 per cent sample of the farming families in the Experimental District. The total number of families in the District was 10,445, but generally some 3.5 per cent of the families were not farm operators. They were landlords, business men, artisans, and hired laborers.

Contact with the families studied was generally made through the teachers of the Mass Education schools. Answers to a questionnaire covering farm size, ownership, operation, production, value of farm lands, houses, implements, number of farm animals, details of farm income and expense, age and sex of the members of the family, and amount of family income and expense were secured from the head of the family. The figures given here are the tabulations of the answers to that questionnaire. Being based on reports and estimates, they cannot have complete accuracy, but their consistency, when the families are grouped according to the size of their farm and the type of farm ownership, seems to show that they give reasonably accurate pictures of the farm families in the Experimental District and very probably for all of Ting Hsien.

While we attempted to make the group of 400 families as nearly typical as possible, our area of choice was necessarily affected by the families' willingness to cooperate in, to them, a new and unusual study and their readiness to answer many intimate questions. The group therefore probably had a higher than average intellectual level. We

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 . AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER IV

Home Industry Families

IN ORDER to round out our study of village home industry (see Chapter XV) and secure more complete and detailed figures than was possible in our hsien wide survey, a family by family study was made, in 1932, of six neighboring villages in the 6th District north of the T'ang River. Their location is shown on the hsien map on page 5. The villages varied in size from 120 to 1,100 families. The total in the six villages was 2,260. Seventeen hundred and forty families, 77 per cent, reported some home industry. In the individual villages the proportion varied from 70 to 96 per cent.

The number of persons in the 2,260 families was 12,655, an average of 5.6 persons per family. In the individual villages the average number of persons per family varied from 4.5 to 6.9. In the 5,255 families in the 1st District the average family had 5.8 persons.

The six villages had a total of 30,521 mu of farm land, an average of 13.5 mu (2.25 acres) per family and 2.4 mu (0.4 acres) per person.[1] This was only two-thirds of the hsien average. In the individual villages the average amount of land per person ranged from 1.1 to 5.3 mu. The largest village had the smallest amount of land per family, 9.5 mu. The smallest village had the largest average per family, 27.5 mu.

Besides having the smallest amount of land per family, the largest village also had the smallest proportion of families engaged in home industry, 70 per cent. The home industry families, however, compensated, at least in part, for their smaller farm income by more industrial work. The average time they worked during the year was over 50 per cent more than the average of the next most active village and more than twice the average of the village with the least industrial activity.

It had been our original intention to study all of the home industry

1. It was reported (1950) that the Central People's Government land program allowed a family to hold 2.5 mu per person.

[See Cat. 116, p. 5 -- Analyst]

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

families in the six villages, but when we found that in one village all of the 770 home industry families were weaving reed mats it seemed reasonable to take a random sample of 250 families as representative of that village and its industry. That sample, plus all of the home industry families in the five other villages, made the total number of families studied 1,220. Our composite figures for the six villages are based on the 1,220 families. We have not attempted to interpolate, from the 250 family sample, figures for all of the 770 home industry families in the mat weaving village.

In size the home industry families ranged from one to 30 members with the average 5.2 persons. This was 0.4 less than the average for all families in the six villages but the difference was not unexpected. In an agricultural community the poorer and therefore the smaller sized families would more generally be the ones to supplement their income from agriculture with income from industry. Fifty-one per cent of the home industry families had less than five members. Only 6.6 per cent had 10 or more members.

The sex division was 53 per cent male, 47 per cent female. This was a higher proportion of males than the 51.4 per cent of the 5,255 families and the 51.2 per cent of the 515 families. Part of the difference again was undoubtedly due to the larger proportion of small families in the home industry group. Fifty-one per cent of the 1,220 families had less than five members as compared with 37.4 per cent in the 5,255 families and 27.8 per cent in the 515 families. Figures for the home industry families definitely indicate that there is generally a higher proportion of males in the smaller families. In one group of families, which averaged 4.1 persons per family, 56.3 per cent were males. In another group, averaging 8.1 persons per family, 50 per cent were males.

The average number of workers per family was 2.7: 1.1 males and 1.6 females. Just under 40 per cent of all the males in the home industry families were working and just over 65 per cent of the females. The ease with which spinning can be carried on as a part time occupation was apparently the principal reason for the high proportion of females working.

The number of families and individuals engaged in the different industries in the six villages shows that processing the locally grown cotton was the chief industry of the Ting Hsien area. Except for the families in the mat weaving village there were only 14 home industry families

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

PART 3. AGRICULTURE

CHAPTER X

Farm Land: Ownership and Operation

OVER 92 PER CENT of the Ting Hsien families owned some farm land. Over 96 per cent farmed some land. All but 5,484 of the 70,034 families were land owners. All but 2,745 were farm operators. Only 1,361 families, 1.9 per cent, reported no farming connection. The average land holdings were: owners 21.9 mu, operators 21.2 mu, all families 20.4 mu. Just under 6 per cent of the land owning families rented land to others. Thirty per cent of the farming families rented land from others. Twelve per cent of the privately owned crop area was rented. Only 4.8 per cent of the farm operating families were full tenants. Only 1.3 per cent of the renters were share croppers. Only 0.7 per cent of the families were non-farming landlords. Twenty-eight per cent of the land was double cropped. The estimated value of the crops produced totaled some sixteen million dollars, an average of some $11.25 per mu and $40 per capita. These are the outstanding figures of our study, in 1931, of land ownership and farm operation.

Accurate figures on the area of Ting Hsien were not available as it had never been surveyed. The official land records were manifestly incomplete as it was generally recognized that there was a considerable amount of "black land" that was not on the books at the yamen and so escaped taxation. We were told that in not a few villages three sets of land books were kept, one to show the officials, one to show the villagers, one, the complete one, for the village elders. We were not able to verify this report but it is indicative of the difficulty of getting a complete land report.

In making our land study we did not attempt to secure the figures of the hsien land office but went instead to the village elders and got from them a report on the amount of land their village controlled. Any error in their figures undoubtedly would tend to be an under rather than an

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

121 over statement and so make our figures somewhat below the actual amount but still more accurate than the official figures. It has not been possible to measure or estimate the probable error.

Our land study was made in three sections, first of the Experimental District, second of the 1st District, and third of the rest of the hsien. The first two were more detailed than the third as it was felt that they were reasonable samples and it was not necessary to repeat all the detail in the larger study.

134 The total amount of arable land was reported as 1,424,931 mu, approximately 371 square miles. This was 76 per cent of the total reported area. In the Experimental District and the 1st District the non-farm area was reported as 11 and 18 per cent. A general inspection of the other districts showed that they had a considerably larger proportion of waste land. The proportion of non-farm land is not particularly significant in our study as the number of persons per square mile of gross area would be almost the only figure to be radically affected by any change in the percentage. It is of interest to note, however, that in the 1st District the village heads reported only 1.2 per cent of the district occupied by graves.

361 134 The crop area controlled by the different villages ranged from 245 to 32,500 mu. The average was 3,150 mu, 525 acres. Only one village had more than 13,000 mu, five had more than 12,000 mu (2,000 acres), 10 had 10,000 mu or more. Only 47, 10.4 per cent, had as much as 6,000 mu (1,000 acres). Fifty-four per cent of the villages had less than 2,500 mu and 19 per cent had less than 1,000 mu. (See Table 58.)

As the number of families in the villages varied from six to 1,200 the average amount of crop area per family was much more significant than the total amount of land held by the village. The per family average varied from seven to 76 mu. In 11 villages the average was less than 10 mu per family. It was less than 15 mu in 75 villages. These probably were the poorer villages of the hsien, though the lack of agricultural income may have been made up by industrial or other activity. In only 15 villages, 3.3 per cent, was the average 40 or more mu per family. Table 58 gives the averages for the villages in the 1st District, the Experimental District, and the hsien.

Grouping the villages according to the largest land holding of any of their families, we find that in seven villages the largest holding was less than 50 mu. In almost half the villages, 47.3 per cent, it was less than

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

CHAPTER XI

Wells and Irrigation

312 FORTY THOUSAND wells provided water for the irrigation of some 55 per cent of Ting Hsien's 1,425,000 mu of farm land. Another 20,000 wells inside the 453 villages furnished domestic water for the 67,865 village families. The average farm well irrigated some 20 mu. The average village well supplied water for 20 people.

121 312 Our well studies were sample and detailed surveys of the wells in the Experimental District in 1928 and the enumeration, in 1930, of all the wells in the hsien. The China International Famine Relief Commission also made a study of the Ting Hsien wells in 1930. This was part of a three hsien study made by the Commission at the request of General Hsü Yung-chang, then Governor of Hopei province. We have drawn on their Ting Hsien figures[1] to supplement our sample studies.

There was considerable difference between our detailed figures and theirs but there was general overall agreement. In the 62 villages in the Experimental District there were 25 villages where our count was larger, 36 where the Commission found more wells, and one village where their report was missing. The total difference for the area, however, was 140 wells and much of that difference might have been the result of additional wells dug during the two years between the two studies. There were similar differences in the figures for the six districts. In over half the districts our figures were the larger. The total difference for the hsien was 709 wells, 1.8 per cent. The Commission count was the larger.

312 The number of wells per village is shown in Table 72. Five villages had less than 10 wells for both irrigating and domestic use. One had 1,220 wells. The average was 131 wells per village. These were divided

1. China International Famine Relief Commission, Series B #49, *Well Irrigation in West Hopei*, Preliminary Report, December, 1931.

2: Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

435 rent value if the land was owned by the farmer. The labor cost was subdivided into the amounts used for plowing, seeding, applying fertilizer, irrigating, cultivating, and harvesting. Much of the labor used was naturally that of the farm family or the farm animals. For this it was necessary to set an arbitrary value, approximately the average of the current labor market. The amounts used per day were:

Man: 50 cents	Horse or mule: 60 cents
Woman or boy: 25 cents	Donkey or cow: 40 cents
Child: no charge	

• 121 435 In this study no attempt was made to set any cost for the use of the farm tools. A study of another group of families (see Chapter III) gave the average value of the tools as $1.25 per mu, and the cost of tool repair as three cents per mu. Depreciation of 10 per cent per year added to repairs would make the average tool cost amount to 16 cents per mu. This amount has been included as one of the cost items. Taxes have been entered as 10 cents per mu, the average amount of the hsien tax. No figures were available for village taxes.

It will be noted that most of the items listed as crop expense involve little if any expenditure of money by the farm family since they also can be listed as family income. This is particularly true of labor and rent. On the smaller farms no hired labor was used and land in Ting Hsien was 87.8 per cent owner operated.

The farms studied were samples of a fairly wide area for usually there were not more than one or two demonstration farmers for a crop in any village. The 40 cotton records came from 37 villages, the 50 barley records from 23 villages, the 28 millet records from 25 villages, the 17 buckwheat records from 15 villages.

As might be expected in a series of this sort, there was a wide variation in the average amounts reported spent for the different items for the various crops. There was an even wider range in the amounts reported by the farmers growing the same crops. In some instances the largest amount reported for one particular item was as much as 10 or even 20 times the least amount reported. More generally the highest amount was three, four, or five times the lowest. Some of the differences were possibly due to some incomplete reporting. Others were definitely due to differences in the location and type of the soil, to different farming methods, and to differences in the crop rotation system. The aver-

Gamble S-5 (1926-1933)1954 AF 12 North China AF 12

ages, however, seem to give a fair approximation of the total cost and gross and net returns for the different crops.

The averages given in Column 10 of Table 77 have been determined by weighting the averages for the different crops according to the hsien area planted to the six crops included in this study. Their area amounted to 60 per cent of the total crop mu in the hsien and almost 75 per cent of the total crop area. The weighting factors were millet 45, wheat 29, cotton 11, corn 6, barley 5, buckwheat 4.

The rent figures have been adjusted to reflect single or double cropping of the farm area. Fifty per cent was charged to each crop when there was double cropping, 100 per cent when there was single cropping. Barley and wheat are winter crops and are generally followed by a second crop. Cotton is regularly the only crop. Buckwheat is a second crop. Millet and corn may be the only crop or part of a double crop system. Rent for the cotton land ranged from $4.00 to $8.00 per mu. The year's rent for the land planted with buckwheat ranged from $3.00 to $5.50 per mu. For the wheat land it varied from $3.00 to $8.00 per mu. As the records were all for irrigated land, it seems evident that the usual rent, or rent value for such land, varied from $3.00 to $8.00 per mu per year, with the average about $4.80 or $5.00 per mu. From the rent figures, it seems probable that the index of double cropping for these farms was about 145. For the hsien it was 128.

Judging from the average cost of plowing, approximately 34 cents per mu, a man and a horse could plow a little more than three mu per day. From the records it would appear that the Ting Hsien farmers did extra plowing for cotton and buckwheat. We wonder if the 55 cents a mu reported by the millet farmers in the Experimental District was for deeper plowing, done as a result of longer contact with the Mass Education Movement's agricultural program. For the other millet groups the amounts were 20 and 39 cents per mu.

The value of the fertilizer used averaged $2.08 per mu. Barley, wheat, and cotton generally were given more than the other crops although the highest average for any one of the different crop groups was for the Experimental District millet. The cost of the labor for applying the fertilizer averaged 39 cents per mu, with the largest amounts reported for cotton and wheat.

The cost of the seed used showed a wide variation in the amounts

2:Gamble S-5 (1926-1933) 1954 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER XVIII

Religion

771 RELIGION in Ting Hsien finds its outward expression in the Buddhist, Taoist, and Official temples, in the Mohammedan mosques and Christian churches. Just when these various religions first came to Ting Hsien cannot now be determined. Some of the gods belong to China's earliest history, others have arisen or become prominent in the more recent past. Some are pure spirits, others are heroes and famous men of an earlier time who have been deified by the Emperor and given rank and title in the spirit world. It is said that Emperor Yao was the first one to offer sacrifices to Ch'eng Huang, the god of the city walls and moat. Yueh Fei, who lived from 1103 to 1141 in the later part of the Sung dynasty, is one of the gods of war, a god of filial piety and gives help to those seeking to settle disputes. Lao Tzu, the reputed founder of Taoism, is said by some to have been born in Honan in 604 B.C. Confucius, the most prominent of the worthies worshiped in the Official temples, lived from 551 to 479 B.C. Sakyamuni, the founder of Buddhism, was born in 624 B.C., but it was probably the first century A.D. before Buddhism was introduced into China. Mohammedans first settled in China early in the seventh century. A Nestorian monk arrived in 635 A.D. Giovanni Di Monte Corvino, the first Christian missionary who is known to have come to Peking, arrived in 1293. During the reign of K'ang Hsi, 1662–1722, Catholic converts came from Peking to at least one of the hsien near Ting Hsien. Protestant Christian missions first began work in Peking in 1861.

●121 771 In our study of religion in Ting Hsien we have concerned ourselves primarily with its outward expression, the number of the temples, mosques, and churches, the temple fairs, and various religious organizations. The beliefs, ceremonies, and rituals of the various religions and cults were for the most part the same as those found in other parts of North China and have been studied and described by others.

3: Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

P'ing-chiao-tsun[1] As A Social Laboratory:

The Process of Social Cooperation In The Solution of Similar and Common Problems of The Population of A Peiping Suburban Village*

There is a saying in China:

> Let each man sweep away the snow from his own doorstep without heeding the frost on his neighbor's roof.[2]

While interpretations of this statement vary, it is presumably a warning against permitting the necessary cooperation among neighbors to become interference with one's neighbors' affairs. In a small but compact community such as a Chinese village, care in this respect is indeed an important principle of living together although it is difficult

---

* This paper was completed in November, 1941 and was intended for publication in this Journal as an introduction to a series of articles on the various aspects of social life of the same village. The whole research project was financed by The Rockefeller Foundation of New York City through her China Program in Rural Reconstruction. The Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor on December 8, 1941 and the University was forced to close. Practically all the field material collected was lost, but the portion in the form of students' dissertations was preserved. The war came to an end on August 15, 1945 and the University reopened on its campus on October 10 of the same year. Slowly did field work resume. The present paper thus serves the function of a summary of field work of two years and six months. An Appendix II: A Note on Post-war Development, is added as a record on the continuation of the research project.

1 P'ing-chiao-tsun is the name given to a village, about seven miles northwest of Peiping. Beginning July, 1939, the teaching staff and students of the Department of Sociology, Yenching University started a sociological field investigation in the village covering many aspects of social life. Field work has been continuing for more than two years and is still going on. The number of family-households, i.e., a household with a family as its core and including non-family members, varies from fifty-eight to sixty-two with an average of about five persons to each and a sex ratio of 130 males to 100 females. For details on methods see Appendix I.

2 各人自掃門前雪，莫管他人瓦上霜.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

121 to observe. This paper is an analysis of the forms of social cooperation[3] through which the inhabitants of a Peiping suburban village have solved some of their more persistent problems. It is not, therefore, a study of the Chinese family as such; but in China where the family is one of the most, if not the most, fundamental of social units,[4] it is of value to discover its importance as one of the units of social cooperation and to see in what way or ways it has functioned. In the following pages only some of the important problems of the villagers are to be discussed. It may be added, parenthetically, that there is no intention to classify the types of human institutional activities according to human problems and needs.[5]

Hunger

261 596 By far the most important problem of the villagers is "hunger" in its broadest sense.[6] In the solution of this persistent problem, the

3 A classical treatment on the principle of cooperation in the evolution of species is P. A. Kropotkin's **Mutual Aid, A factor of Evolution**, London, 1902. Recently, M. A. May and L. W. Doob in **Competition and Cooperation**, New York, 1937, have attempted to give a systematic review of the subject but with special reference to culture and personality. Margaret Mead and others applied the same point of view to primitive conditions in **Cooperation and Competition among Primitive Peoples**, New York, 1937.

4 See Kulp II, Daniel Harrison, **Country Life in South China, The Sociology of Familism**, New York, 1925. Sorokin, Zimmerman and Galpin thought of "the family as the basic institution and familism as the fundamental relationship of rural social organization." See their **A Systematic Source Book in Rural Sociology** Vol. II, Part III, Chapter X. Minneapolis, 1931.

5 Sumner and Keller have attempted such a classification in **The Science of Society**, New Haven, 1927.

6 "The term 'hunger' is here extended, beyond its special meaning, to cover sensations of lack, due to insufficient preservation or repair of bodily energies, and accompanied with other related or derived discomforts. The prime material needs of the body are food to promote its growth and repair its waste, and protection in the form of clothing and other shelter. Hunger is here taken to be the sense of physical discomfort that impels to their satisfaction; it works out into the stimulus to the pursuit of material well-being."—W. G. Sumner and L. G. Keller, **The Science of Society**, Vol. I, p. 22, New Haven, 1927. "The desire for food is the foremost need of man; less imperative are his needs for shelter and raiment. The individual aspires to be well dressed, well housed, well fed, and well off. These several wants may be designated for the sake of convenience by the name of the one most prominent among them, that of Hunger."—A. E. Ayau, **The Social Psychology of Hunger and Sex**, Cambridge, Mass., 1939, p. 17.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

593 156 many daughters-in-law may complain of ill-treatment by their mothers-in-law, others enjoy a happy life because they have good-natured mothers-in-law.

868 While children are silent in the presence of their parents, they are seldom under close observation. When they are about to be beaten by their angry fathers, there are always the good-natured old women next-door to rescue them. Their cries call out for sympathy and their parents are always happy for them to be so stopped.

156 It is said that a girl should keep her chastity, but there are girls more sexually inclined. They lapse easily in spite of gossip and censure. When they are found out, their poor mothers and friends have to devise ways and means to cover up their acts and to protect them.

While an individual has to spend most of his life-time in his family, he has other associations temporary or permanent, formal or informal. Each individual tries to fit into the society in which he is born. He tries to have associations in accord with his temperament. He may fail but nevertheless he has to try out just the same.

562 Males seem to be more variegated than females. That they are so may be explained by the greater varieties in their associations and freedom in their movements. The chance to individuation lies in more associations. The rule seems to be that, other things being equal, the more memberships one has in groups, the more of an individual he becomes. The development of the self is in direct proportion with the development of human association and society.[32]

The village folks have their family, their friendly associations, their village, their town and, even more, their city. Those who are fortunate and ready to participate in their community and its many associations will in time find their life richer than those who fail to do so.[33]

Summary and Conclusions

• 121 It is the purpose of the present paper to reveal how the population of a village solves some of its more persistent problems in a cooperative manner. Altogether, major activities in relation to eight

32 Charles H. Cooley, Human Nature and the Social Order, New York, 1922; George H. Mead, Mind, Self and Society from the Standpoint of a Social Behaviorist, Chicago, 1934.

33 C. H. Cooley, Social Organization, A Study of the Larger Mind, New York, 1925; R. M. MacIver, Community, A Sociological Study, London, 1924.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

problems have been analyzed. The villagers certainly have many more problems in their life, but it is assumed that a study of these activities would sufficiently show the relative importance of the various cooperative units in the solution of their problems. It should be further added that the villagers may or may not know of the existence or the nature of their problems. Their activities may thus be intended or unintended, purposive or random, and their institutions and associations may be enacted or cresive, contractual or customary.

It may be clear by now that the family is not the only unit of social cooperation in this village, but rather it is the core in the midst of many other units. In the solution of the problems of hunger and sex, the home is the center of activities, and members of the family or family-household work together in a division of labor and cooperation.

Social order is maintained by both law and custom. In either case, the family-household acts as a center to link together all activities into a system. The household is the basic point of reference. The family is the unit of responsibility. While village folks are afraid of getting mixed with politics, there seems to be no sure way for them to escape. The principle of inaction may be good to follow when life goes on smoothly, but obviously this is impossible. Their own problems together with external forces have broken up the family wall. A form of cooperation larger than the family has to work itself out.

So is worship a family matter, but the construction of a temple and its management and up-keep require a unit of cooperation larger than the family. Even a unit as large as a village may not be sufficient. The temple is now more than a place of worship. The school is here. The store is here. These two additional functions will continue to keep the temple buildings in good shape. But no single family can keep all these institutions functioning.

The field of social communication has not only shown that the family as a unit is insufficient to meet the needs of free association of its members. It also indicates that the village is not a very strongly integrated whole. Internally, it falls into many associations, formal or informal.

But externally, forces such as marriage, economic exchange, political organization and the process of urbanization in general have broken down the village wall. P'ing-chiao-tsun is certainly not a self-

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

369 sufficient unit. It takes the cooperation of other villages to satisfy the desire of sex of the villagers. It also takes the cooperation of a market-town to satisfy the desire of hunger of the villagers.

In the old days, the cooperation of a village and a town might have the needs of the village folks satisfied. But gradually they have found a world which is even larger than this village-town since urban forces have penetrated into the village.

Individuation is always going on with the people in the family and in the village. But from now on these P'ing-chiao-tsun folks will find a city world with its complexities of institutions and associations. Sooner or later they will have to face this larger unit of cooperation or rather a complexity of units of cooperation. They will be even more individualized, but if they are not ready to participate in it, they may find themselves lost in the confusion.

Ch'eng-hsin Chao.

APPENDIX I: A NOTE ON METHODS

● 121 There is no attempt in the present note to take up the theoretical question of the methodology of sociology. For that, foot-notes in the text may serve to indicate the point of view underlying our field study. This note is rather a description of the procedure actually operated in our field work.

To begin with there are three motives underlying our study of the various aspects of social life in P'ing-chiao-tsun. First and foremost is the attempt to vitalize our academic curriculum. It is one of our fundamental principles of education that students as well as teachers will know more from their books by putting their theories into test in a field. The second motive which is related to the first is to experiment with the various techniques in sociological investigation. While these techniques may be adaptable in primitive studies or in the studies of modern industrialized societies as the case may be, they have to be tested in a Chinese field or fields before we can sufficiently appreciate their value. The third motive is to collect materials for comparative studies of rural communities in general and of Chinese villages in particular.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

P'ing-chiao-tsun is the pseudo-name given to our village, the real name of which is for a certain purpose better disguised. It is chosen as our field of investigation not because it is a good sample. When so little is known of the social conditions of the various regions in China, it is very difficult indeed to speak of sampling in any sociological study. The present village is chosen for its location, which is not too far away from the university campus or too near to be influenced by a single institution. It is chosen even more because the principal of its school is an old acquaintance of one of our department assistants.

Back in the days in the year of 1930-31 when the Department of Sociology and Social Work of Yenching University first established its Ch'ingho Social Experimental Station, P'ing-chiao-tsun was known to us. When the Ch'ingho Station withdrew what was left of its work from the village some time in 1935, the Department of Sociology of National Tsinghua University established its field station in this village until the summer of 1937. The villagers and their leaders had been thus quite prepared for any sociological investigation from the outside when we "rediscovered" the village in one of our field trips in the winter of 1938-39.

We had been looking for a new field ever since the Ch'ingho Station was closed down in 1937. It was, however, only by accident that we met the school principal and decided to have the village as our sociological field. Negotiations with the principal and through him with the village leaders were very laborious in the days from February 1939 to June of the same year. As we finally agreed to subsidize the school, we were led by the principal to meet the head of the *lien-pao* in his office in another village. A meeting with the *pao* and *chia* heads, leaders of our village, was arranged in July, 1939. Faculty- and student-investigators all participated. After all these courtesy calls we were led to visit homes of villagers who were very friendly to our chief informant and "liaison officer", the principal of the village school. In these early visits we tried to be friends to our villagers and engaged them in conversation whenever possible. Finally to conclude our preparatory work, the heads of the *lien-pao*, *pao* and *chia* were invited to lunch and to visit the university campus and university agriculture experimental station in October, 1939.

In early August in 1939 a group of physics students of the university was requested to assist in the mapping out of the physical site of the village. It was a real excitement to the village folks when these students together with our field investigators had their instru-

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

Shortly before the end of October, 1939 student-investigators gradually concentrated on certain aspects of social life. While these students only visited the village twice a week when school was in session, they spent their whole winter recess of two weeks with the villagers. The subjects covered by these student-investigators included demography, sexual life, death customs, village politics, farm management, and land tenure, with the latter two by students from the Economics Department.

About the same time when village folks began to have more leisure time in the winter months, our department assistants started a rather detailed census of the farming population with the family-household as unit of investigation. Items covered in seven blank-schedules included farm-size, land ownership, working animals, material equipments, croppings, farm-laborers, debts, etc. — altogether well over three hundred sub-items. The main purpose of this study is the correlation of economic activities with the various aspects of social relations.

In filling up these blanks, we started with the material equipments and had the more delicate questions of land ownership and debts at the end. In our house-to-house canvasses we still met difficulties, but they were far less than those we met in taking the population census undertaken earlier, although these blanks were far more complicated and involved than the population schedule.

Before the end of the academic year, June, 1940, students of the junior class were sent to the field and served as apprentices to their seniors. These students were only expected to make acquaintances with the villagers. While they were not supposed to take up any subject for study, they were required to keep records of their own activities in the village as well as their observations. It was very interesting indeed to compare these records with the early records of their seniors.

Shortly before the commencement of a new year, misunderstandings occurred between our investigators and the villagers. It happened that a very ambitious *chia* head expressed his desire to have a business cooperation with our student-investigators. Our students refused politely but nevertheless we were disliked. Another incident occurred when our senior students forgot to bid farewells to our villagers. This fault was naturally ours.

Far more serious than these two incidents was the one when we failed to make sufficient contribution to the funeral of a villager. The

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

123 whole misunderstanding occurred in this way. During the traditional New Year festival we presented seasonal presents to the villagers. When we found needy cases in our investigation we usually helped them within our capacity. Also our students made presents to their acquaintances in the village on special occasions. But this time when the death occurred in a very poor family, the school principal and the village leaders promised the family that they would obtain a good sum from us as presents to the funeral but which was without our knowledge. When we failed this time to live up to their expectation, their reaction was very strong indeed. They scolded our investigators and threatened to discontinue their cooperation. We surely learned a good lesson from this incident. A strong warning was given our student-investigators and our "liaison officer", the school principal, not to make any promise to villagers without our knowledge.

Naturally we had to offer compensation to our villagers in order to calm down their emotions and to restore the necessary cooperation. Many conferences were held with the village leaders. Finally, we agreed to subsidize a little sum every month in providing medicines for the curing of minor illnesses. Also we secured the cooperation of the university medical office to extend to the villagers its services. But so far very few villagers have taken advantage of this. With this agreement, the whole incident was closed and now it has been already forgotten by the villagers.

Except for these incidents in its beginning, the second year was a very happy one indeed. Our investigators freely mixed with the villagers. During the winter recess of 1940-41, these students lived among the village folks. They brought their own water from the village wells and cooked their own food. They entertained the villagers and so the villagers reciprocated. It happened that the traditional New Year festival fell in this winter recess. Our investigators actually *kowtowed* to the villagers. Naturally the villagers reciprocated. Our investigators were very much liked by the villagers. Indeed, one house-wife even tried to have one of our male-investigators marry a girl she knew.

121 The subjects covered in the second year included the physical structure of the village, the village temple, the "four sacred families", a case study of a farm family, duck-raising in the village, agricultural implements, school census and credit cooperatives, with the latter by a student of Economics.

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

123 to keep the two processes of participation and observation well balanced. In this connection, it is also very interesting to note that specific investigators are attracted to specific villagers. This attraction lies deep into their personality traits.

Before this note is concluded, one word may be added. While this is written, our field work is still in process. The present paper can be therefore taken only as a preliminary review. It is hoped, however, that it may serve as an introduction to the specialized papers which will appear in later issues of the *Journal*. The present paper is written also because we wish to have a chance to reflect on the work which was done in the last two years. Our work will be highly profited by comments from the social science public.

APPENDIX II: A NOTE ON POST-WAR DEVELOPMENT

122 The war came to an end on August 15, 1945, and the University reopened on its campus on October 10 of the same year. The principal of the village school came to inquire whether our research could be restored. I was then very much occupied with teaching and other work, and regretted very much that we could not resume our field work immediately but assured him that he would be informed of our decision in a few weeks' time. During the academic year of 1945-46 we paid three visits to the village, twice with two graduates of the Department of Sociology who were field workers there before the war, and once with an addition of an American student who was interested in sociology and just released from military service. In these three visits we were very warmly welcomed by our old friends, the villagers.

In the late summer of 1946, when the University in Chengtu rejoined those of us in Peiping, field work began to be resumed in a very small way. At first, a senior student went to the field. He was new to the village and was taken there by our assistant. He stayed on campus but made frequent trips to the village. It did not take a long time for him to get acquainted with the people of the village and he was soon able to concentrate on the problem of agricultural laborers. A second senior student went to the field in January, 121 1947. He had visited the village in his junior year before the war, and it did not take much time for him to renew his personal acquaintances with the villagers. He finally concentrated on the problem

3:Chao E-5 (1939-1941)1948 AF12 North China AF12

of education of village children. The field of village politics in action was taken up by our assistant and another senior student. The work had not been completed when both of them left the university in 1947, but from their record of observation, we began to understand the process of struggle for power among ambitious individuals in the administrative district where our village is located.

One interesting point might be noted in connection with the method of investigation. As social studies are largely a matter of interaction of the observer and the group observed, the individuals whom the observer has most contact with have very much to do with the records of observation of the investigator. The difference between our first contacts with the village in the pre-war days, and later in the post-war days, is that whereas in the former, we had to depend upon our "liaison man", the school principal, in the latter, we are in direct contact with the villagers. After many years of absence, the nature of the first contact is important in the fact that the villagers are conscious that we are their friends, directly intimate and personal and not indirectly through the school principal. We have very little difficulty in approaching any family in the village, and our contact may thus not be unnecessarily conditioned by an intermediary. If contacts have to be conducted with the assistance of a liaison man, friends and enemies of his would be, though unintentionally, also ours, at least we would be so regarded by the villagers. Many sociological and anthropological field workers have not observed this principle and their studies are necessarily biased to that extent.

The most noticeable changes in the village on our first revisit, were the new faces we met on the streets. During the interval of four years, children had grown into young boys and girls. When we went into homes of villagers, we also noted the absence of some of our old acquaintances, as well as the presence of new faces. A couple of aged persons passed away during the war years. Quite a number of girls had grown up and had left to be married. Naturally, about the same number of young married women had come in. These are the natural events in the social metabolism of a community.

After a closer observation, we could hardly avoid the impression of a general economic dilapidation in many village homes. The reduction in the number of ducks and chickens was very noticeable. One of the two duck-raising families was out of business. The family could hardly find sufficient means for the minimum subsistence. But certain families were quite prosperous, and had at least maintained

4: Burgess E-4,5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

FOREWORD*

• 121 INTEREST in research inevitably follows participation in social work in China. The intricacies and difficulties of the adjustments made imperative by contemporary changes in the social structure of that ancient nation become increasingly clear to those who have a practical part in facilitating such adjustments, and constitute a challenge to gain a clarifying knowledge of the underlying social, economic, and political situation.

For Westerners engaged in welfare work the essential differences between the social structure of old China and that of occidental social institutions are an added incentive for research to those who would hope to gain some measure of the nature and magnitude of the transformation so rapidly taking place. Those taking part in relief work soon realize that there are essential differences between the Chinese clan and the western family; those concerned with the problem of unemployment sooner or later come in touch with guild organization and control, so different from the economic system of the West; those seeking methods of reconstructing rural life discover the existence of clusters of villages constituting autonomous market-town areas, each a social and an economic unit, which must be understood before any successful projects can be carried out.

Familiarity with the social organization of old China and the resultant habits and attitudes of the people schooled in the old régime leads to a further question as to whether or not a more comprehensive knowledge of the ancient system of clan, village, and guild autonomy, with its consequent

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

121 group loyalty and purely local interest and activity, might not be a means of gaining a more fundamental understanding of the chaotic conditions incident to the transformation of this nation into a new economic and political unity. Such knowledge might also throw some light on how the inevitable fusion of Eastern and Western cultural values might more harmoniously be brought about.

It is hoped that this study of one of these local groupings of ancient Cathay, namely, the guilds, may contribute in some measure to this more fundamental understanding of age-long Chinese culture and of the process of social change now taking place.

123 The strength as well as the weakness of this study is its indirect character. It reproduces the frank and truthful reports of the guildsmen themselves, invaluable in any accurate description of these organizations. Of equal importance, however, is the detailed first-hand observation of the activities of the guildsmen. Such a further study could best be made by Chinese investigators trained in scientific research technique, who would not meet the suspicion and misunderstanding which a Westerner would encounter. Should this preliminary investigation lead to further research of this kind, its primary object will have been accomplished.

000 I am especially indebted to my former student Hung-Chun Chang, and to his uncle, the scholar-priest, whose many interviews and reports have supplied the information upon which much of this study is based. Mr. Sidney D. Gamble has materially helped, first by his early study of the Peking guilds to which we have constantly referred, next by generously allocating two of his research staff to spend a summer on our project, and more recently by permitting the reproduction of his own description of a meeting of the Blind Guild. Mention should be made also of the work of my colleagues in the Department of Sociology of Yenching Uni-

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

INTRODUCTION

121●

THE study of Chinese guilds has a wide range of theoretical and practical interest. To the economic historian it brings fresh material on contemporary economic organizations that are similar in many respects to the guilds of Medieval Europe. It may even throw some light on much disputed problems of medieval history. Of interest, also, is the understanding that such a study gives of the basic form of the economic structure of China and of the effects of the impact of Western industrial and commercial expansion.

To the economist the study is of interest because it affords a glimpse of contemporary pre-capitalistic, industrial and commercial organization and reveals a process of transformation from one economic system to another.

To the student of political science the relation of government to the guild system is of interest. The way in which a non-governmental group assumed and carried out functions considered in the West to pertain to municipal government, throws light upon the nature of political control.

To the sociologist the study is of significance because it depicts an early type of organization in industry, government and religion and also portrays the disintegration of an ancient social organization.

Such an investigation is also one of practical import to all interested in the early and harmonious readjustment of Chinese social life at a time of chaotic political, economic and social transformation.

Moreover, light may be thrown upon such questions as the following:

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

• 121 (a) What forces are causing the weakening and dissolution of the guilds?

(b) How long, in its present form, will the ancient guild system last?

(c) What types of guilds are undergoing modification, and of what sort?

(d) What types of guilds are disappearing?

(e) What forces of industrial or commercial organization are taking the place of ancient guilds?

(f) What attitudes and values, characteristic of the old guild system, are being preserved in new forms of industrial organization?

(g) From the viewpoint of possible social engineering, is it desirable and practicable to reorganize the guilds in a form better adapted than the present organization to meet contemporary social needs?

(h) What are the social and the economic consequences of the breaking-up of the old guilds?

A. The Use of the Term "Guild"

* 441 The word "guild,"[1] is defined in Webster's *New Inter-*

* 467 128

[1] The use of the spelling "guild" rather than "gild" is purely arbitrary. The four dictionaries consulted give both spellings, two preferring "guild" and two "gild." Webster's *New International Dictionary* (1923) and J. A. H. Murray's *New English Dictionary* (1901) give "guild, and gild," while Funk and Wagnall's *New Standard Dictionary* (1927) and the *Century Dictionary and Encyclopedia* (1915) give "gild, guild." All authorities trace the word back to the root verb "gildan," meaning to pay. Blackstone's "Commentary" 1, 473, explains the term as follows: "Gild signified among the Saxons a fraternity derived from the verb 'gildan,' to pay, because every man paid his share towards the expenses of the community. And hence their place of meeting is frequently called the guild, or guild hall." By this definition Blackstone seems to imply that "gild" is the name of the association while "guild" signifies the place of meeting. This distinction, however, is not made in any other definition of guilds which we have discovered. Writers on

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER I

THE METHOD AND SCOPE OF STUDY

THE present study is a non-statistical description of the principal characteristics of forty-two contemporary Peking guilds, the operation of which is confined to the city of Peking and its immediate vicinity. Elsewhere[1] it has been estimated that there are in Peking 128 guilds of the types studied. Our selection of 42 guilds is, therefore, 32.8 per cent of the whole number. These guilds are also representative of the whole, as not fewer than 8, and not more than 18, of any one group were chosen.

A. THE METHODS OF COLLECTING DATA

This study is based chiefly on information procured by means of a questionnaire. This questionnaire, or schedule, was made out and used in the following manner:

(1) The questions were roughly drafted in English and submitted for criticism and suggestions to several persons, Chinese and foreign, among whom were Mr. Sidney D. Gamble who in 1919-20 had made a preliminary study of the Guilds of Peking, Dr. Leonard H. L. Hsu, associate professor of Sociology in Yenching University at Peking, and Mr. Franklin C. H. Lee, a Columbia University graduate who at that time was assisting Mr. Gamble in his research and who is now a member of the Research Staff of the China Foundation, Peking. After this consultation, the questionnaire was revised.

[1] *Cf.*, pp. 107-108.

4: Burgess E-4, 5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

accurate description of guild organizations and functionings as they exist today in Peking.

Partly because no old guild records are available, historical material in this paper, although abundant, is by no means comprehensive. This fact, however, is not the handicap which it might be were we dealing with institutions which have already disappeared. Although no doubt a complete historical picture would throw much light on the present operation and functioning of the guilds, it is not so essential in this case because there is every reason to suppose that they are now functioning very much as they have functioned since ancient times. There are indications, it is true, that of late the ancient structure is beginning to crumble. But in a city like Peking, which is relatively little affected by foreign trade and manufacturing, enough remains to enable us to see clearly the outlines of the ancient organizations.

This paper will not deal extensively with the transformation of the guilds. It is relatively more important to understand the nature of these ancient social structures than the many modifications now taking place. Ten years from now much more material will be available on the dissolution of the guilds, but it may then be difficult to determine the original nature of the organizations. The changes cannot be evaluated except by reference to the original structure. No effective effort to conserve the best of the guild life can be made unless we know the nature of the original social values and attitudes manifested.

The method used is particularly adapted to a study of this ancient group life. The investigators who covered most of the guilds were young men of modern education, able to give a critical estimate of the facts recorded, but they had not been abroad, were not "Westernized" and were not familiar with Western economic life. These young men had the best possible introduction, that of the friendly scholar-priest with

5: Tao E-5 (1926-1927) 1928 AF12 North China AF12

CHAPTER II

PROCEDURE AND SCOPE OF THE INQUIRY

Our family budget study covers two classes of Peking inhabitants, the handicraft workers and the elementary school teachers, and as a matter of fact consists of two separate inquiries. In this chapter, we shall describe briefly the procedure and scope of both.

I.

The working class family budget inquiry is, as has been stated, an outgrowth of the handicraft workers' survey in Peking. On August 1st, 1926, just one month after the survey was started, a lady who had some experience as a social worker was employed to keep account for eight families. It was intended to make it merely a trial study with a view to finding out if it was possible to obtain accurate and detailed data of family budgets. The work was continued for one month and by September the number of families was increased to twenty-three. In the meantime, the accounts were examined and criticised at frequent intervals. When it was discovered that the results so far obtained from the accounts proved quite interesting and encouraging, it was then decided to conduct a budgetary study of fifty families for a period of six months, beginning from October 1st, 1926. Besides the investigator who had already been at the work, another lady, a primary school teacher, was employed to have charge of more families. Altogether, accounts of fifty-six families were taken care of between them. The inclusion of so many families was meant to give the inquiry a wide margin, in case some families might drop out for one reason or another just in the midst of the inquiry.

INTRODUCTION

works on Chinese social life are too general. But still he could not resist the temptation of naming his book "Country Life in South China" and of using many generalisations.

Thirdly, we must have a quantitative analysis of facts. Although a mathematical analysis is not always possible, and is sometimes worthless when made, yet there is much more certainty and accuracy in a study made on this basis than in qualitative descriptions or impressive generalisations.

Therefore, the first intention of the present study has been an exploration of both qualitative and quantitative facts in a rural market town during the academic year 1928-1929. The survey of timed, localised and analytical facts of even a small locality is bound to be of use in the understanding of Chinese life, but the working out of suitable methods for further exploration and survey has been still more important. The workers were immature, the methods in many cases imperfect, yet our study has reavealed opportunities for further improvement. The shaping of our sociological tools through the investigation of Chinese social life has been the second purpose of our study.

A third purpose, not important to the outside, but very important from our point of view, has been the training of our sociology students in the work of getting and orgarizing sociological data. Five or six of our advanced students have taken part in this work which has been both a help to themselves and to the work. There is a crying need in China to-day for trained workers who know how to obtain exact and

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

000 accurate data, and how to use and interpret the data when it has been secured. Therefore, the Department of Sociology has looked upon this study as a laboratory exercise for our advanced students who are interested in such studies.

2. Selection of the Locality

• 121 Knowing that a quantitative analysis of a particular locality over a definite period of time would have more permanent value than a general description such as is usually offered as an interpretation of Chinese social life, the Department of Sociology set out to look for a suitable place for such a study. It was decided that this should be either a village or a town with a population of not more than 5,000, the reasons being that (1) our time was limited to nine months from September 1928 to June 1929, (2) the money available was limited to a couple of thousand dollars, Chinese Currency, for salaries, equipment, travelling, printing etc., and (3) our experience, also, was limited. So a Village or town of that size is the largest we can afford to study at least for the time being.

Secondly, we put considerable emphasis on the normality of the locality, as to whether it was a typical community or not. Naturally, it was very difficult to decide what should be the test for normality, especially in districts around Peping (Peking) where urban influences and Manchus Camps are apparent abnormal features, So at the beginning of the Selection we were careful in avoiding these abnormal features. Besides, other factors such as cropping system, marketing system, family organization, educational

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

organisation, and religious organisation are all taken into consideration in our selection. After all, we felt that the only evident abnormal feature were the lack of any strong family influence, and the presence of a large number of Mohammedans. In the third place, we have to consider the proximity to the University because we are planning to use the place as a sociological laboratory for both faculty members as advanced students. Although we engaged a paid field worker, yet teachers and students have had to make frequent journeys between the University and the laberatory, so that any place three or four hours distant from the University was obviously out of the question from the outset, owing to the waste of time which the travelling would have caused for both teachers and students. In the good weather Ching Ho is only one hour distant from the University Campus, and therefore, this was an important factor in its selection from the point of view of economy of time and expense in transportation. 121

Finally, no survey or investigation is possible without the co-operation of the people and the leaders of the local community, and for this reason also, Ching Ho was considered a favourable centre. When queer people, such as we, enter a town and commence to ask strange questions such as "When were you married?" there is bound to be a certain amount of uneasiness and suspicion. Although we had no student from Ching Ho or any direct contact with the people, yet we knew people who were interested in social refrom work there, and we felt sure that we could expect some co-operation in our work from the people

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

121 themselves. At the same time we had made enquiries regarding several other sites for our study. We finally decided that although Ching Ho was not the ideal site for such a detailed study as we hoped to make, yet taking the above considerations into account it would proably be the best for our purpose.

3. Method of Approach.

Before we finally decided to take Ching Ho as our experimental station we sent a man to make a rapid preliminary survey of the local conditions, which he was able to complete in two days. He gave us an adequate, though short, concrete report. Interviews were also sought with anyone who knew anything at all of the district, and two members of the faculty went to Ching Ho to verify the findings personally and to get into contact with the local leaders. After the final decision was reached profesor Cato Young was asked to take charge of the survey, with the assistance of a paid field worker, and the promise of all the help he required from the faculty and the students. A detailed outline of the survey was then worked out; and its main headings were as follows:

1. Historical background.
2. Geographical background.
3. Ecological relations.
4. Population.
5. Family and marriage.
6. Economic conditions.
7. Political conditions.
8. Educational conditions.
9. Health and sanitation.

6:Young et. al. E-5 (1928-1929) 1930 AF12 North China AF12

10. Religion and morality. 121
11. Play and recreation.
12. Social pathological conditions.

In addition, folkways and social change were suggested by members of the Department, but owing to the short time which the survey was to cover, and to the special nature of these studies, it was decided to omit them from this general survey. In the final report some parts as listed in the general outline are again ruled out because of inadequary of data.

We realised that if we were to get full and accurate facts regarding the subjects included under each heading. four different channels of approach were necessary. (1) The community as a whole, and also the neighbouring communities would have to be briefly surveyed in order to form an adequate background for more detailed work. (2) The various existing community organisations would have to be carefully examined to discover their structure and function. (3) Systematic enquiries would have to be made regarding the families and households; and (4) every individual old or young, of either sex, would have to be questioned in order to find their relation to the population problems of quantity, composition and migration.

As the community is simple, and there are very 125
few organisations it was felt that no special schedule for organization was needed. A schedule was prepared in Chinese for each household, covering all kinds of general informations about the household and another was prepared for getting information about each individual member in the family. A translation

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

PREFACE

THIS study aims to put another piece into the China section of the puzzle of family income and expenditure around the world. It shows how Chinese families living in one of the large non-industrial cities and representing different economic levels, with incomes ranging from $8 to $550 silver a month, get and spend their incomes. It is based on detailed written accounts kept by 283 families for an entire year. So far as we can discover, it is the first study of this sort to be attempted in China, although another study in which a group of 48 families kept accounts for six months was carried on in Peiping almost simultaneously with ours.

Since the family incomes cover a wide range, it has been possible to show how the income influenced the size of the family group living together, and how the proportions of the budget spent for food, clothing, heat and light, rent, and miscellaneous items changed with a change of income. As the accounts were completely itemized, we have been able to show how expenditure for individual items, especially for the different kinds of food, varied at different income levels; how corn flour and then millet flour dropped out as the family income increased; how wheat flour and rice took their place; how the expenditure for rice exceeded that for wheat flour when the family income was above $200 a month. It has been possible to study the seasonal variation in expenditure for the different food classifications, for fuel and for light. A study

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

/2/ of the nutritive and fuel value of the diets of our families has not been attempted.

The material on Chinese weddings and funerals is unique, we believe, in that it gives the actual amounts spent for the services and equipment connected with these occasions. The accounts bring out many of the Chinese wedding and funeral customs. We have endeavored to secure information concerning the meaning of certain of these customs, but it has not been our intention to attempt any complete study or description of wedding and funeral customs. The wedding, funeral and other photographs were taken by the author.

The tables giving detailed figures for the different income groups have been grouped in Appendix II, Pages 315-337. Reference to the tables is advisable, if one would see the budget picture in all its detail, for it is impossible to discuss the figures for all the income groups, and it is not easy to determine the figures for any particular income group from the graphs in the charts. For ease in reading, the amounts included in the text are given to the nearest five cents. The exact figures are shown in the tables.

We do not claim complete accuracy for our figures, since the many families, from whom our information was gathered, varied in their understanding of what we were trying to do. However, the number of items constantly checked insures a relatively complete report. Regular seasonal changes in the consumption of certain commodities and the fact that the figures are generally consistent also point to reasonable completeness and accuracy.

Some questions raised by the study of the budget figures have had to be left unanswered, since, as soon as the field work was completed and the accounts had been

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

transcribed, it was necessary to bring the records from China to the United States. The making of the tables and the study and analysis of the figures have been carried on here. A large part of the manuscript has been sent to China and reviewed by one of the head field-workers and other Chinese friends, but it has not been possible to go back to the individual families for the additional information that would give the answers to all the questions raised.

The comparison of amounts spent for certain goods, or classes of goods, by families living in various countries is of little significance because of the exchange factor and the differences in price levels. We have found it of interest, however, to compare the proportion of the budget used for the five main expenditure classifications—food, clothing, heat and light, rent, miscellaneous—by Chinese families receiving different amounts of income, with the figures for families belonging to various income levels in other countries. Equal figures do not mean that the families included in the comparison have the same standards of living, or the same plane of living, but they do seem to show that they occupy about the same relative position in the scale of living in their respective countries. If this is true, it is then a simple matter to determine the amount of money needed to secure the same relative position in the scale of different countries. In making such comparisons, however, the time when the various budget studies were made and subsequent changes in price levels must never be forgotten.

It is believed that the material here presented will be of interest and value to economists and sociologists; and that the study makes available Chinese material which will be

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

specially useful to teachers of economics and sociology in China. It is hoped, also, that this study will be helpful to those who, in planning for China's economic development, are concerned for the welfare of the workers. Some budgets show that certain Chinese families can and do live on a low plane. We trust that this fact will not be used as an excuse to force other workers to live on that same low plane.

A study such as this brings vivid realization of some of the problems of living that Chinese families must meet. The figures, as they have painted the picture in increasing detail, have brought to us growing appreciation and respect for these families and the way they meet their problems and make the best of their conditions of life. We have been impressed by the fact that 71 per cent of the families lived within their income.

The help and cooperation of a large number of people is needed to carry through this type of study successfully, and we are glad to acknowledge indebtedness to those who have given assistance. We are specially indebted to the families included in this study for their willingness to tell us, day by day, the intimate details of their economic life; to our head field-workers, Mr. Wang Ho-ch'en and Mr. Liang Jen-ho, for their efficiency, enthusiasm and self-sacrificing help, without which this study could not have been made; to Mrs. Betty Roberts Barker, for her efficient handling of office problems, and for seeing the work in Peiping through to its conclusion in spite of "Peking dust" and days of tension when Communist uprisings seemed possible; to Mr. Chang Hung-chün, for his help in interpreting details of Chinese life; to Dr. James H. Ingram, for assistance in finding the proper English translation for the Chinese names of the many items included

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

out of the city by Chang Tso-lin. However, the city was at peace during the entire time of the study; and while many foreigners, fearing a possible Communist uprising, hurriedly left during the spring of 1927, the ordinary Chinese family was not seriously affected by the tension of those days. Furthermore, a previous study showed that prices in Peiping were little influenced by political events unless communications were interrupted, and that they quickly returned to normal as soon as the roads were opened.[3] The price level had been rising, until in 1927 the prices of pork and mutton were 57 and 87 per cent higher than the 1924 averages, and the 1924-1927 increase for salt was 66 per cent, oils 35 per cent, coalballs 38 per cent, flours between 15 and 20 per cent, but, during the time the field-work of this study was being carried on, prices remained relatively stable. The combined index number for food, clothing and fuel ranged from 97.8 to 102.5 with the high point in December and the low point in October.[4]

One special reason for making the study in 1926 was that it was evident a change of some sort was coming in China, both in the political and the economic fields. Trade-unions were being organized in many cities and were increasing wages, prices had been going up, and there were many groups opposed to the Peiching (Peking) government. A study of family budgets made at that time would anticipate the coming change, would give a picture of conditions in a large non-industrial city before the change should take place, and would provide a point of departure for measuring the changes and development of the new régime. Less than a year after the field-work

[3] No. 18, Bibliography. [4] Nos. 11 and 18.

7: Gamble S-5 (1926-1927) 1933 AF12 North China AF12

121 was completed, the Nationalist forces captured Peking,
178 changed its name to Peiping, and moved the capital to Nanking.

Definition of Terms

162 *Age* refers to age figured according to the Chinese system. An infant is considered to be one year old when born and two years old on the next New Year's day. The usual method of figuring the equivalent age according to the Western system is to deduct one year from the Chinese age. As the Chinese ages have been used, the limits of the five-year age groups have been set as 1 to 5, 6 to 10, rather than, under 5, 5 to 9, et cetera, the usual limits when ages are figured to the latest birthday.

434 *Budget* refers to actual income and expenditure rather than to
511 any plan of family finance. Family budget and family account are used synonymously.

Business Expense refers to items spent in connection with the business by which the family earns its living, such as ricksha rent, ricksha taxes, push-cart rent, business supplies, wages of workers doing other than domestic work. If entered in the family accounts, these items have been omitted from the expense side and have been deducted from the reported current income.

Capital Expenditure is money spent for a capital item, loaned to others, used to reduce accounts payable, invested with a savings society, deposited in a store or bank. If paid out of capital income, it has been omitted from the account, as it would then represent a reinvestment of capital funds rather than the expenditure of part of the family's current account.

Capital Income is money received from capital sources, the sale of property, borrowing, the reduction of accounts receivable, savings. Even though it represents money received, capital income has been omitted from the account unless it was used to meet current expenses.

804 A *Catty* is a Chinese unit of weight. It varies somewhat, depending upon the particular kind of catty used, but ordinarily it is taken as equivalent to 1.33 pounds.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

PREFACE

A study of Chinese labour should properly begin with a general survey of the number, wage scales, working hours and standards of living of labourers. These are some of the fundamental facts urgently needed in this country. Circumstances, however, were unfavourable for conducting a survey of this kind when this Department first commenced its operations some two years ago. The country was then divided into a number of administrative areas under various militarist leaders and it was extremely difficult to obtain permission from them for any kind of serious study of labour. Except in districts under the jurisdiction of the Nationalist Government where a liberal policy toward labour was pursued, labour unions were all banned and any intercourse between an educated person and a labourer might entail danger to both. There was no governmental departments from which information regarding labour could be sought, as none kept any full record of it. And it was equally futile to approach the proprietors or managers of factories who usually were reticent on the subject of labour, except when they complained of difficulties in their dealings with workers. In fact, labour was then a tabooed subject. Even a strictly theoretical discussion of it was hardly considered proper, as it was apprehended that it might be a propaganda of socialistic ideas in disguise.

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

121 As the great majority of modern factories in this country are situated in the "foreign settlements" of various ports, we naturally turned our attention to them in our project of investigation. This again proved infeasible, as neither municipal authorities nor foreign factory managers were then in any way inclined to permit a "foreign" institution, that is, a Chinese institution, to look into what they considered affairs of their own. What right, indeed, had a "foreigner" to inquire into the working conditions of the thousands of his countrymen under their employ or jurisdiction? Under such circumstances, it is but natural that little could be done in regard to the study of Chinese labour conditions in general.

Though denied the opportunity of an extensive survey of Chinese labour, we were, however, fortunate in being able to conduct an intensive study of two factories of the modern type, the Chiu Ta Salt Refinery and the Yung Li Soda Works (or Pacific [162] Alkali Works) at Tangku. Tangku, it may be mentioned in passing, is an important town situated thirty miles southeast of Tientsin on the Pei-ho and about one-fifth of its total population, which is estimated at 5,000, is constituted by workers of the two factories. The result of this study is embodied in a Chinese report made by Mr. Sung-Ho Lin, the investigator, and the present report in English is an abridged translation of it.

121 466 We must confess that we were happy in the choice of these two factories and this for several reasons. First, both of them are among the very few industrial enterprises in this country that are organized as well as directed by men who are well qualified for the work. Disregarding for the present the factories owned and controlled by foreigners, we may say that the majority of Chinese-owned factories are run by men usually ignorant of the technique and implications of modern industry. This is not so with the founder and managers of the two factories under consideration, however. All of them have received technical education in colleges and what is more important, have gained valuable experiences in factories in Japan or the United States. Besides, they have realized that their business does not exist solely for

8: Lin E-5 (1927)1928 AF12 North China AF12

the purpose of profit-making but is a part of the gigantic process of industrialization of this country. In other words, whereas most of the Chinese industrialists usually start their enterprises with a lack of the necessary experience and knowledge which their work demands, those in connection with the factories under consideration are well equipped in both. Thus, if the former were blindly drawn to industrial pursuits, the latter entered into the field with a full consciousness of their knowledge and ability to adjust themselves and their activities to the environment. The difference between the two is certainly worthy of attention.

Secondly, the labour movement has in recent years begun to loom large on the horizon of the industrial world of this country, in spite of the stringent measures aganst it heretofore adopted by the militarist authorities and in spite of the oppressive policies pursued by factory owners or managers. In fact, the movement is gaining momentum at an amazing rate. It must be understood that if on the one hand, as is frequently alleged, a good deal of labour unrest has been due to agitation or extraneous pressure from radicals and communists, none can deny that on the other there are also genuine reasons for the dissatisfaction of the labourers and that their complaints, whatever they may be, must be looked into. As the ancient sage, Hsun-tze, says, "Worms breed only in things which have already become rotten," so no labour troubles could flourish unless the soil is already fertile for its growth and development. Now this is precisely what the managers of the two factories have anticipated and endeavoured to forestall. They believe that labour is a primary requisite in production and therefore it must be accorded due consideration. Our description of their welfare work forms an excellent illustration of the extent to which action has been taken by them in this respect.

That the managers of the two factories have always been eager to find means to improve the lot of their workers may also be found in their desire to study the needs of the workers. Thus, during his stay at the Chiu Ta Salt Refinery from March to June 1927, our investigator was afforded every facility by the authorities of the two factories to conduct his study. So long as they were not of a